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A

CONTINUATION

OF THE

PLAIN REASONER.

WHEREIN

The PLAIN ANSWERER is favour'd with a few proper Comments; and ſome Others with compendious Anecdotes, taken from the Breaſt of an *Egyptian Mummy*.

THE

ARGUMENTS

Of the former PLAIN REASONER are illuſtrated and enforc'd;

THE

SPIRIT and GENIUS

Of affected Patriotiſm, detected and exploded;

AND THE

CONDUCT

Of our Naval AFFAIRS ſet in a proper Light.

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Comments and Anecdotes.

WHEN a Man takes it into his Head to turn Critick on the Labours of another, the leaſt one expects from him is, that he hath learn'd to read: I mean by learning to read, the underſtanding and digeſting what he reads; without this, his Reading has no more Meaning in it, than a Parrot has in his Talking. In ſuch a State of bad Criticiſm, if his Author is clear, he perplexes him; if a little perplex'd, he throws him into down-right Confuſion: And when to a bad Head, is added a bad Heart, too highly warm'd, the whole becomes a mixt Scene of Scolding, Contradiction, Ribaldry and Nonſenſe.

The Faults the Anſwerer finds in the *Plain Reaſoner* are bad Diction, Untruths, bad Geography, falſe Calculations, and evil Principles. What he has to do with the Diction, whether good or bad, I don't readily conceive; becauſe the worſe he expreſſes himſelf, the leſs he makes of his Argument; which being in the Anſwerer's Favour, is a ſtrange Blunder in him to find Fault with; ſince if the *Plain Reaſoner*'s Arguments were ſtill worſe ſtated and expreſs'd, ſo much the leſs would they be regarded; and that being what the Anſwerer wants, if any thing, it concludes, that either his Criticiſm

is ridiculous, or the Diction good. However that may be, however carelesly the *P. R.* may have expres's'd himself, it's very plain, from the great Numbers sold, that his Labours are very well understood: And the Answerer having never shown where the Diction is bad, it's at least a fair Intimation that he himself thinks it too good. The same thing may be said of the Untruths; for, as none appear, what the *P. R.* says must stand for the present. The Answerer indeed says, the *P. R.* has not said all he could, which is very true; becaufe if he had, and prov'd every thing in due Form, a Volume in Folio would not have contain'd it; and his Works, like those of the *Plain Answerer*, as he complains, would have been read by very few, since voluminous Works, whether good or bad, are not for the Reading of the Many; and he is therefore the most useful Writer, who contains a great deal in a narrow Compass. But some Men have so much Learning, so many Ideas, so little Judgment, and such wretched Principles, and these all jumbled together without Form or Order, that it's no great Wonder they are not much read: Now if the Answerer, instead of being a Critick on Words, or Pointings, would learn to be Master of a little interesting Sense; and make good Principles, instead of visionary Schemes, the Subjects of his Lucubrations; I dare say he would not need complain, in a weeping melancholy Tone, that his Labours meet not with due Regard. My charitable Turn of Mind induces me to say so much to him for his Emolument, and I reply to him to help the Sale of what he has now wrote, being very clear it will have no ill Effect on mine.

He wishes the *P. R.* to understand Geography, the *P. R.* returns him the same Wish with all his Heart; with the Addition of better grounded Calculations

culations than he has got from Mr. *Carte*; which are at once both true and falſe; true, as to the *French* raiſing ſo much Money in the Year 1742; Falſe, as apply'd, being deliver'd as the regular Revenues of *France*; and as calculating a *French* Livre equal to an *Engliſh* Shilling. The *P. R.* likewiſe adds to thoſe Wiſhes another, *viz.* that the Anſwerer had imbib'd ſomewhat fewer *French* and *Jacobite* Principles, which appear ſo much in all he ſays, and are receiv'd by all Mankind with ſo much Contempt, that it would be uſeleſs here to explode them. The Anſwerer's Geography of *Dunkirk* is, that it is, or is capable of being made the beſt Road in *Europe*. I am afraid he has unhappily confounded the Road with the Harbour; but in either Caſe it's falſe: The Harbour may be improv'd and render'd very uſeful to the *French*, and is ſo now, (and ſo would *Oſtend* and *Nieuport* be if the *French* had them) the Road never other than it is, which is at beſt but indifferent, and no way comparable to the *Nore*, or *Spithead*; nor can the Harbour at any Expence be made equally good as the *Medway*, *Portſmouth*, or *Plymouth*; I could mention many more Roads and Harbours in *England*, but thoſe may ſuffice to ſhow our different Skill in Geography, and for the Satisfaction of thoſe Readers who are willing to ſee the Difference, I refer them to the Sea Charts of the Coaſts of *England*, *France* and *Flanders*, commonly call'd the coaſting Pilot, which common Maps are not quite ſo proper for, nor can be conveniently introduc'd here. As to *Nieuport* and *Oſtend* being barr'd Harbours, and therefore of no Uſe to *France* if ſhe had them; Its ſufficient to ſhow the Idleneſs of this Conceit, by intimating that *Newcaſtle* is equally a barr'd Harbour, equally incapable of being made otherwiſe, and yet is found of ſome Uſe to *Britain*;

there

there being few Harbours that raiſe and employ more Seamen. I am very ſenſible that the Anſwerer talks of barr'd Harbours by Rote, that he has got the Style but don't underſtand the thing, for otherwiſe his Compariſons, and Deſcriptions would have been in quite another Caſt; but as they are only deliver'd like the prating of a Parrot, its needleſs to enter further into the Subject.

As to the Principles of the P. R. they are ſuch as every honeſt Man dare openly avow, they are not *French* nor Jacobite, they are ſuch as every free-born *Engliſhman* owned before, and were eſtabliſhed at the Revolution; that are above being check'd by foreign Influence, too proud for Slavery, and too noble for Superſtition; determin'd againſt the Enemies of *England*, and to expoſe them under every Appearance, clear and expreſs that *France* muſt not be powerful in *Flanders*, and that the Houſe of *Auſtria* muſt be ſupported by Land, as well as by Sea; that any Danger of our Liberties from a firm Attachment to the Houſe of *Hanover*, is a Dream; that we have nothing to fear, but from *France*, and from her only as poſſeſs'd of *Flanders*. In a Word, let the *French* quit the *Netherlands*, and purſue the Paths of Peace, Juſtice, and Honour, and her Agents here will find the Plain Reaſoner no longer her Enemy.

The narrow Compaſs of my Lucubrations won't permit me to reply in form; the Sun muſt not be ſtopt in her Courſe, tho' the *Greenlander* mourns her Abſence; or the Inhabitants of the torrid Zone curſe her fiery Beams; if either in due Time receive Benefit from her Emanations its well, if not, ſhe ſtill ſhines on as the Order of Nature directs, and ſmiles at the idle Reflections of thoſe, who are Strangers to her divine Attributes; however as ſhe once ſtopt in her Courſe, as the Scriptures ſay, at the

the Prayer of *Joſhua*, I ſhall not neglect ſo benevolent a Hint to make one Obſervation more, as it very much concerns the Public to know what the Anſwerer means, when he ſaid, Page 21, 22, that might he ſpeak his Mind with Safety, he could confine the Power of *France* within juſt Bounds, and pay off all our Debts, without doubling our Taxes, *&c.* As it's impoſſible for the Public to divine what this wonderful Scheme may be, without conſidering well *what* it is *not*, ſo its as ſtrange that a Man ſhould be afraid to publiſh it. I never yet met with a ſingle Inſtance of a Projector being puniſh'd, for propoſing any thing for the Good of the Public, tho' I have known many encourag'd for ſuch as have been wholly impracticable; and why this wiſe Man ſhould be alone puniſhable, is only to be accounted for by concluding it very wicked, and in that light is eaſily enough gueſs'd at. I ſhall therefore conclude my ſhort Reply, by only requiring why he objects to a general Exciſe; is it, becauſe the *Dutch* who he ſays are a wiſe People uſe it, or becauſe the *French* don't? Is it becauſe a Penny is eaſier to pay than Threepence? He will doubtleſs anſwer *No*, why then? Why truly becauſe he has heard it is a bad thing, and without examining into it, concludes it to be ſo. My dear Friend, when you write again think a little, my Buſineſs at preſent is not with theſe Matters, ſo have only time to tell you, that an Exciſe Scheme *properly eſtabliſh'd*, or in any way taking the Duties off from Trade, was never the Wiſh of a bad Miniſtry, but always the Deſire of the thinking Part of the People: And ſince as it appears you are a Projector, ſtudy this point a little better, before you think of writing again on the Subject; ſince from what appears at preſent, you know juſt as much of the State of the Revenues of *England*,

as

as you do of thoſe of *France*, and have read *Du Tot* to juſt as much Purpoſe as you have the *Plain Reaſoner*. What you have ſaid in relation to Treaties, and the Revolution, will anſwer themſelves; and as to the real Revenues and Reſources of *France* and *Britain*, ſhall very ſoon be ſet in ſuch a fair and ample Light, as to put that Matter out of Diſpute for ever.

There are a few remaining of the old *Jacobus* Stamp, who are eternally plaguing the World with their caſuiſtical Impertinencies, whom no Arguments can perſuade, no Proofs convince; their Scheme is at all Events to contradict; if you reaſon on Principle, they quibble and evade; if you produce Authorities, they either diſallow, or quote them by Piece-meal, or in a light quite diſtinct from the Argument. In a Word, rather than you ſhall be thought in the *right*, they will aſſert any thing, tho' never ſo idle or diſtant from the Point in Queſtion. One takes a Piece of your Work, quotes and applies it to ſuch Purpoſe, as he judges may beſt anſwer his Views, without any Regard to the Context, ſo that there being no Diſpute about the Verity of the Quotation, the Remarks thereon look plauſible enough, but examin'd with the whole are nothing at all to the Purpoſe; like the Evidence in Court, who fancies himſelf not forſworn, when he only relates ſuch Truths as anſwer the Purpoſe of the Party in whoſe Favour he ſwears, neglecting ſuch further Truths as would have given the Cauſe quite another Turn; to enter into the whole is too much for their Intereſt, and to ſay nothing, too little; theſe are the Sort of People whom Sir *Roger Le Strange* hints at, who quote the Scripture by Sentences, and prove from *David*'s Pſalms there is no God. If ſuch People were worth regarding, there would be no reaſoning with them; becauſe reaſoning

reaſoning with them, unleſs a Man would follow them to the End of the World, would be immerſing himſelf in one continued Scene of Perplexity and Quibble. The Characters and Genius of theſe People will beſt appear from ſome Anecdotes come to Hand, found amongſt the Papers of the late Alderman *Clodpate*, who was a great Encourager of the only Jacobite Paper now ſubſiſting; and a principal Member of the half Moon Club. I conclude from the Circumſtances that a poetical Hiſtory of thoſe two famous Republicks, was intended to be wrote by himſelf, in which the *Licentia Poeticæ* appears prettily enough in making the Paper a Perſon, becauſe as I ſuppoſe he concluded a Perſon wrote it; but whether ſuch Perſon be Male, or Female, is not quite ſo clear, nor can it be well thought that one confus'd Head alone, could be capable of publiſhing ſuch a continued Series of incoherent Stuff. But ſee the firſt Anecdote.

Near the Cataracts of Nile
Where Crocodiles lye weeping,
In the Fiſher's artful Toil
Was Malkin *caught aſleeping.*

With a Native She engendred
* *In the* Mountains of the Moon;
Whence from her Womb ſhe render'd
A monſtrous great Baboon.

This coupled with a Crucifix,
And thought its Labour loſt,
When in the middle of its Tricks
Out jump'd the Daily Poſt.

* Mountains of the Moon are thoſe from whence Iſſue the Cataracts, and are high Lands in *Ethiopia* ſo called.

From a Note annext it appears the above are only Hints, for Mr. *Carte* to expatiate upon in his general Hiſtory of *England*, and by ſome farther Remarks in the ſame Papers, it ſeems as if the above Lady, whom I here name Mother Crucifix, is Secretary to the half Moon Club, to whom by what follows, ſhe claims a Kind of Relationſhip, as proceeding in Effect from the ſame Original, both being equally ſupernatural and extraordinary; and are ſaid to be found wrote in Hieroglyphicks on the Breaſt of an *Egyptian* Mummy, and are in plain Engliſh thus interpreted.

Eve *the firſt Fair of human Race*
Left Adam *for the Devil*;
Whence as the Muggletonian *ſays*,
Came univerſal Evil.

This mixt with every Inſect vile,
And Animal Specific,
Rais'd from the ſlimy Mud of Nile
By Genial Fire Prolific.

Theſe got together by Conſent,
And gendred in a Tub,
And from their various Spawn did vent
A Motley half Moon Club.

The Mummy itſelf, I hear is ſtill in being, from whence much more is extracted, but I intend to ſatisfy myſelf from the Original, before I publiſh any more, in the mean time the *Plain Anſwerer* and the *Daily Poſt* are both to take notice, that it is my Regard to Truth only, which makes me ſo tender of not proceeding farther, till I have ſatisfied myſelf by a careful Survey of the original Manuſcript.

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The next Anecdote I meet with from the ſame Repoſitory, and the laſt I ſhall quote, ſeems not to be taken from the ſame Original, but ſeems to be intended for ſome deceas'd Jacobite Hiſtorian, perhaps for the Author of ſome modern Annals; It is plainly an Epitaph, and recounts as Epitaphs uſually do, the great Performances of the interr'd; but whether it is more to be depended upon, than ſuch things uſually are, or who the Perſon ſo delicately deſcrib'd, is, or whether he be dead to the World, or *bona Fide non exiſtent* in the Fleſh? The Reader knows as well as I do, and is therefore left at his own Option to conclude juſt what he pleaſes, —The Words are,

Here lies Carte Blanch,
Who lov'd the French
As much as H——y *does a Wench.*
Who talk'd of James
In ample Themes,
Declam'd on Wool
Moſt plentiful;
On Hiſtory too
Said what he knew,
Turn'd Critic in the End,
Too old he was to mend,
He dy'd, and ſo Adieu.

THE CONTINUATION.

The Principles of the laſt were, that Hanover *was only uſed as a Topick to amuſe Fools, that the Politicks of* France *were turn'd ultimately to the poſſeſſing of all* Flanders, *and that a Fleet alone was not the Means, whereby* Britain *was to counteract the Deſigns of* France; *with various other incident Matters needleſs to recapitulate.*

I Was inclin'd to try the Senſe of the Nation on the above Heads, ſomewhat ſlightly reaſon'd upon, before I adventur'd to publiſh the whole Force of the Argument, the Cauſe whereof will appear extremely obvious to thoſe, who ſtudy never ſo little the Diſpoſitions of the People, divided into Parties, diſtracted in their Sentiments, and confounded in their Politicks.

I take it for granted that the Run of Mankind either through Education or Principle, are generally inclin'd to be honeſt, and conſequently have the Love of their Country, its Intereſt and Welfare, very much at Heart; but as they want Penetration,

tion, ſo are they treated like Children in leading-Strings, and undeſignedly made the Tools and Bubbles of wicked and deſigning Men, whoſe Buſineſs is to amuſe, divide, diſtract and ruin the Nation.

The Purſuits of ſome of thoſe, who affect to be Leaders, are only Places of Honour and Profit for themſelves and Adherents; ſome like the Salamander delight only to live in the Fire of Contention; without any fixt or determin'd Views; and others who are amongſt the oppulent and honeſt, are through Weakneſs and Inconſideration, made the Tools of the deſigning and artful, and thereby contrary to their own Intentions, contributing all in their Power to create Confuſion and Diſcord; being perſuaded by thoſe whom they are weak or modeſt enough to believe know better than themſelves, that a Storm once rais'd to deſtroy their Adverſaries, which all are, who are prefer'd before them in the State, they can eaſily allay again, when their main Buſineſs is effected.

To this End many have held firmly together like the *Roman* Patricians of old, propoſing by leſſening or deſtroying the royal Perogative, to acquire to themſelves abſolute Authority over the People; others who have gone as far in the ſame Road, as they judg'd conducive to the Welfare of the Conſtitution, have ſtopt ſhort in the Mid-way, and by giving the Good of Mankind the Preference to all private Engagements, have been eſteem'd Deſerters and perſecuted with uncommon Aſperity. Theſe Engagements were previouſly underſtood to be the Preſervation of the State, by preventing the public Money being ſquandred away on Tools and Hirelings, and the Honour of the Nation, its Intereſt and Glory ſacrific'd to private Views. This End attain'd, it did not become a neceſſary Conſideration

ration, that every one of the Parties engag'd ſhould have Places of Power and Truſt conferr'd on them, for various Reaſons: The firſt is, that however ill the Affairs of State had been previouſly conducted, there were many Perſons of Honour and Diſtinction poſſeſs'd of Places, whom had it been juſt, it would never have been ſafe, and, conſequently, not proper to remove of a ſudden, nor perhaps practicable either. It would have been ſtriking at the very Baſis of the Conſtitution, and raviſhing that Part of the Power out of the Hands of the Sovereign, which would have deſtroy'd the Equilibrium, and have thrown the whole Frame of the Conſtitution into Diſorder.

To render this plain Reaſoning equally intelligible to every Rank of Readers, it's neceſſary to give a ſhort Sketch of our Syſtem of Government as it ſtands confeſt to all who take the Pains to conſider it; to ſhew that with all its Faults it is the beſt Frame now ſubſiſting in the World, and, conſequently, that to deſtroy any of its fundamental Principles, is rather attempting to introduce arbitrary and abſolute Power in ſome other Shape, than to mend that, in which it now appears.

The Government of *Britain* now is in King, Lords and Commons, who are each a Check on the other; remove either of thoſe Fundamentals, or what is in Effect the ſame Thing, diveſt either of them of the full Power of acting in their proper Sphere, and the whole becomes immediately diſſolv'd; and then either ſome new Frame is to be erected, or Confuſion is the natural Conſequence. Now this new Frame will be either better or worſe; what can be better, the Wit of Man has not yet devis'd? while every Government in the World, without Exception, ſhews what is not ſo good; will it not hence plainly follow, that our

next Choice is to be either worſe, or downright Confuſion? Neither of which, I dare ſay, any honeſt Man in his Heart deſires. Theſe three Eſtates have all their reſpective Powers and Privileges, and amongſt them the Sovereign has his: If, therefore, either of the other break in upon his natural, neceſſary, and allow'd Prerogative, they contribute ſo much towards the diſſolving of the whole Frame; and are, conſequently, in Purſuit of a new one; or of throwing us into Confuſion. The Sovereign's Prerogative is agreed to be, a Power to conſtitute ſuch great Officers, for the Service of the State, as ſhall ſeem to him moſt proper; which Officers he is only oblig'd in Honour and Conſcience to diſmiſs, when they are found to be Prejudicial to the State, by acting improperly in their reſpective Employments. But it is not any Part of our Conſtitution; nor is it neceſſary for the Sovereign to remove all theſe Officers indiſcriminately, becauſe a Set of Men who have Power and Intereſt in the Legiſlature, cabal together for that Purpoſe: Though where juſt Reaſons are ſhewn againſt the Proceedings of this or that Man, he ought to diſplace him, becauſe it is for the general Good; but it will not follow even then, that Men ſhould be forc'd upon him to execute the Miniſterial Function, of whoſe Abilities he has had no Experience; and who, perhaps, only fancy they are proper; much leſs is the Sovereign oblig'd to remove, Right or Wrong, ſuch of his great Officers againſt whom no regular parliamentary Complaint has been made, only to humour the factious Brigues of a Cabal, and ſubſtitute them in their Plaees. A Sovereign who once condeſcends to this, is, at the ſame time, promoting the Diſſolution of his own Authority, and with that, the Frame of the Conſtitution; and

when

when he has done all, their wild Imaginations have ſuggeſted he ſhould, and their warm Applications deſired; he is ſo far from being render'd eaſier, that he is laying the Foundation of perpetual Broils and Conteſts.

It has been obſerv'd, at all Times, that thoſe very Men who were contending for Power, were always for hurrying the Nation into a foreign War; and making the Ballance of Power the Standard of their Declamations, whereby to impoſe on the People, which they had no ſooner brought about by that Pretence, but this Ballance immediately becomes a Dream: They then ſay they meant no ſuch Matter, (tho' they unanimouſly voted a War, and promis'd the Sovereign their Aſſiſtance to carry it through) unleſs they might have the Management of it; which is no more then ſaying we wanted to be in Power, and made Uſe of that Handle to bring it about; or, in other Words, we care not what Expence we put the Nation to; nor how much we diſtreſs the State; ſo that it anſwers our private Ends, which can never be ſo certainly attain'd, as when the Sovereign's Honour is engag'd to continue the War, and it is in our Power whether he ſhall do it or not.

If a Party of Men, like theſe, find themſelves not ſtrong enough to hinder Money Matters from going in their proper Courſe; they then immediately recur to their ſecond Reſource; for having laid it down as a Maxim of the Sovereign's, equally natural and juſt: That he would rather truſt to Forces, on which he could more particularly depend, than Strangers; and that foreign Forces on ſuch like Emergencies, will be always neceſſary; they conclude rightly enough that he will employ his natural foreign Subjects, in Preference Strangers, in Conſequence whereof they will have

a Pretence to ſay, the War was not enter'd into for the Service of *Britain*, but to aggrandize *Hanover*; when, according to their own Account, neither were, at firſt, but relatively concern'd: It was then the Ballance of Power in *Europe:* The Houſe of *Bourbon* growing too powerful, and *Britain* too weak; and as to the Houſes of *Bourbon* and *Auſtria*, they are quite out of the Queſtion.

Theſe Gentlemen have reſources infinite, when it is their Intereſt to diſtreſs both the Sovereign and State; and no Argument, however idle, is neglected, to cajole and delude the Mob, to bring their Affairs to the Point aim'd at; and to aſſure themſelves Power, Wealth, and Dignity. For, if they find the People a little unhappily in their Senſes, and that neither by their own Logic, nor by the help of their Scribblers, Matters can be brought to the deſir'd Iſſue; another Topic is ſet up, and a mighty wiſe Queſtion propounded, and ſuitably anſwer'd, *viz.* Whether, as *Britain* is an Iſland and independant of the Affairs of the Continent, ſhe ought to concern herſelf with Land Forces, or with the Affairs of the Continent at all? which they readily anſwer ſhe ſhould not; but if ſhe enters into any War, then it ſhould be only by Sea. This Kind of Converſation tallies ſo extremely well with their Votes at firſt ſetting out, when the firſt Part of their Scheme was in Agitation; and with the latter Part of their Actions, when it had in ſome Meaſure taken Place; that one would not a little wonder at the Eſteem and Reverence paid them by the People, whom they once fool'd into a Belief, that the Good of the Community was their ſole Aim; ſince they no ſooner get Places, but inſtantly the Land Forces are increas'd, and the Marine ſo far

from being improv'd and enforc'd, that it ſeems to be quite out of the Queſtion.

The World is to learn from hence that thoſe Meaſures only avail us, which are purſued by Men who conſtitute themſelves Patriots, on the Principles of Intrigue and Chicane; who uſe the People as the Popes antiently did the Emperors, making them their Footſtools, whereby to get up and ride, with the greater Air of Majeſty and Triumph.

This leads me into the Conſideration of a Subject, which very much concerns the Intereſt and Welfare of Mankind in general, and the People of theſe Kingdoms in particular, and which will not a little open their Eyes, and teach them to diſtinguiſh between the affected Term of Patriotiſm, and of honeſt Men, who really purſue the Intereſt of their Country, and wiſh well to the Community. I muſt previouſly inform my Reader that I am endeavouring to convince him, in Oppoſition to a generally receiv'd Notion, in Favour of antient Patriotiſm. That the *Roman* Patricians were neither the Friends of Liberty, nor of the People: That *Tarquin* was baniſh'd purely to make room for thoſe pretended Patriots to exerciſe their Tyrany in: That the baniſh'd Prince was much the honeſter Man; and that our modern Patriots are humble Copieſts of thoſe ſuper-eminent Impoſtors.

To eſtabliſh this Argument its only neceſſary to ſhew, how the *Roman* People were treated under their Kings, particulary under *Tarquin*; how *Tarquin* came to be baniſh'd; and in what Manner the People were uſed, after this Baniſhment.

The Reader will hardly preſume that I ſhould enter into the *Roman* Hiſtory, as if I was regularly to deduce it down by prolix Tranſcripts; the narrow Compaſs to which my Lucubrations are confin'd,

fin'd, will only permit me to act as a ſuccinct Commentator; and he muſt read *Livy* himſelf to determine on the Juſtneſs of my Comments.

Tarquin, the ſeventh Monarch of *Rome*, was ſeated on the Throne of his Anceſtors, in the beſt Right whereby Princes claim regal Power, *viz.* the voluntary Aſſent of the People; who choſe his firſt Anceſtor to reign over them, and eſtabliſh'd the Crown in his Iſſue. It was in the *Roman*, as in all other Monarchies ſo eſtabliſh'd, that the People were ever jealous of the growing Power of the Sovereign, and always on their Guard againſt it; the Prince, on the other Side, equally jealous of his Prerogative; on the preſerving whereof his Power and Dignity depended. It was extremely natural in ſuch Caſe for both Sides to attempt the exceeding of their reſpective Limits, more eſpecially as there was no certain Point, whereat to ſtop the Progreſs of their reſpective Views: The firſt Re-eſtabliſhers not being able to foreſee the variety of Contingencies, which, in a Courſe of Time, would interfere with their Regulations, and throw them reſpectively into the Purſuit of new Meaſures.

When the Prince was firſt dignify'd, a Kind of Nobility was likewiſe created with him, as being the People who were moſt powerful in their Armies, who, in effect, fram'd the Monarchical Government; and rais'd their chief Leader from the Dignity of a General in the War, to that of a Sovereign in the State; inveſting him, at the ſame Time, with both Civil and Military Power. It's very probable that in a Courſe of Time, theſe Monarchs forgot the Means by which they were elevated, or did not enough attend to their natural Rights. On the other Side, the Patricians forgot, or did not enough attend to the Intereſt of the

People; and as the Sovereign look'd on the Patricians with too much Contempt; they, on the other hand, aſſum'd too much of the Regal Power: The Conſequence was very natural, the Prince became deſirous to rule without being under the Check of the Patricians; they to annihilate his Power, and to become Kings in his ſtead. The Patricians had certainly the beſt Intereſt in the People, as they were more amongſt them, and had them more immediately for their Retainers and Dependants, and, conſequently, could infuſe what Notions into them they thought proper: They did not ſo much attempt to convince them, that the Sovereign was, or intended to be a Tyrant, but that all Kings were in Effect ſo, and that it was the People's own Fault that they were not free. When they had once brought them to this Point, and convinc'd them that *Tarquin* had more Regard to the *Sabines* than to them, and was aiming to aggrandize them at their Expence; which would be no ſooner done than he could make Uſe of a foreign Power to make them Slaves, and elevate himſelf on their Ruin and Miſery. This was a very intereſting Point, and the run of the People not being able to penetrate into the real Views of the Patricians, came warmly into their Meaſures, and were conſequently prepar'd to give them their beſt Aſſiſtance, when a proper Conjuncture offer'd; little dreaming that they were combining with their Superiors to forge Shackles for themſelves, and from an Imaginary, running into real Slavery. The Patricians having carry'd their Point thus far, and having nothing real, of Importance enough to bring it to its deſir'd Iſſue, they contriv'd to make one of their beſt capacitated Members appear an Ideot, and to uſe him as a Tool; under whoſe Sanction, they might proſecute their ambitious

ambitious Views with Safety: With him was join'd the Huſband of *Lucretia*, a Woman as well diſtinguiſh'd in *Rome* for Wit, Beauty, and Reſolution, as her Huſband for being ſupple and complying. The younger *Tarquin*, a ſanguine and unexperienc'd Prince, was beſet with Agents, who were continually ringing in his Ears the Beauty of *Lucretia*, till they had work'd him up to the Point aim'd at, and determin'd the Ruin of himſelf and Family. Young *Tarquin* ſets out on his Adventure, to the Country Seat of *Lucretia*. And the vertuous *Lucretia* prepar'd to receive him; what paſs'd between them is not quite ſo clear, but may be eaſily gueſs'd at; *Tarquin* had a longer Journey to go, and *Lucretia* and her Huſband immediately repair to *Rome*; the one applies to the King, the other to the Senate for Juſtice, at the ſelf ſame time; and before the King could have time to reflect, either on the imaginary Rape, or the Conſequences, all *Rome* was up in Arms; *Lucretia* had acted her Part in the Drama, and was ſuppos'd to have kill'd herſelf, in Revenge of her Diſhonour, which ſhe had ſuffer'd from young *Tarquin*, and which nothing but Self-Murther could atone for: however ridiculous this might have appear'd on any other Occaſion, the People were too highly work'd up to ſee the barefac'd Fraud; tho' he who before appear'd an Ideot, by growing wiſe of a ſudden, and being at the Head of the Mob, ſufficiently evinc'd the whole to be a well contriv'd political *Farce*.

The Torrent was grown too ſtrong for the regal Reſiſtance: *Tarquin* and his Family, were immediately oblig'd to quit the City, and the Patricians inſtantly poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Sovereignty thereof, with the joyful Acclamations of

to

to-Day, and the Tears and Repentance of to-Morrow.

We are now to ſee how this fancied Liberty ſo clandeſtinely acquir'd, turn'd out in the Event, and therefrom to draw ſuitable Concluſions, in regard to both Princely Power and Patriotiſm.

The People, it may be naturally preſum'd, were not of a ſudden confirm'd in their Chains; great Care was doubtleſs taken to amuſe them for a Time, both as foreign Forces were drawing towards them, to revenge the Cauſe of the baniſh'd Sovereign; and as their Aſſiſtance was neceſſary to protect the Patricians againſt him; but this laſted not long, for no ſooner that the Patricians became well eſtabliſh'd, but the People began to feel the Weight of their Chains; and it was not only that the Moneyed People were employ'd, to diſtreſs and ruin the Unguarded and Neceſſitous, by charging them with exorbitant Intereſt, impriſoning, ſtarving, beating, ſcourging, and even murthering the poor Debtor, as appears in various Inſtances; but alſo by attempting boldly, and in the Face of Day, to act that Part in Reality, which, as I conceive, in the Caſe of *Lucretia*, was but a Farce. *Livy* furniſhes us with a ſingular Inſtance, in the Caſe of a young Maiden, who, according to a Law made by theſe Patriots, the moſt wicked that ever was invented, was to be forc'd away both from her Parent, who was a Man of ſome Figure in the Army, and alſo from her Huſband to whom ſhe was betroth'd, in order to be made the Slave of a Scoundrel, who was hir'd by a Patrician, to whoſe Bed he was to bring her, and who himſelf ſat as Judge, between his own Agent, and the young Damſel's Parent and Huſband, and who gave a ſuitable Verdict in his own Favour, and, in Effect, condemn'd the Virgin to be debauch'd by

by himſelf; and altho it happen'd not as intended, yet was not the Patrician leſs a Villain, nor is there an inſtance in *Tarquin*'s Reign equivalent to it. What followed after this is too prolix for my Enquiry, its ſufficient to obſerve that the *Roman* People found it neceſſary to ballance the exorbitant and arbitrary Power of the Patricians, by the chooſing of *Tribunes* from amongſt their own Body, and thereby put an end to that Tyranny which they had been yoked with, under the fictitious conceit of Liberty.

If the *Roman* Hiſtory was alone in this reſpect, it would be very well, and the Recital might have been ſpared, but as our own Hiſtory concurs in various Inſtances of the like Kind, ſo it convinces us that tho' it's poſſible that ſuch things as Patriots may be, and I hope there are, yet it may be generally concluded, that Patriotiſm is as great a Cheat and Impoſition upon the People, as the Government in a ſingle Perſon, with abſolute Power, can be; and oftentimes more pernicious; ſince by the deſtroying of one Head, like that of the *Hydra*, many appear in its ſtead; and from thence we may juſtly conclude that a limited Power on all Sides is beſt and ſafeſt; and that whatever Branch of the Legiſlature, attempt to encroach on the other, ſuch who ſo attempt, call them by what Name we will, are thoſe who deſign to enſlave the People.

Now to give the finiſhing Stroke to Chicane and Foolery; to convince Mankind that Patriotiſm in the Senſe its now us'd, is, at leaſt, as much to be guarded againſt, as the Power of the Prince, and effectually to prevent, for the future, People being miſled by fictitious Conceits, into a Notion that we ought not to concern ourſelves on the Continent, but only to depend upon our Navy. I ſhall here preſent my Readers with the Reaſonings and Opinions of the moſt judicious Men,

in

in all Ages and Times, both Natives and Foreigners, Friends and Enemies, and in particular of our Parliaments and Princes, on the ſame Subject; hopeing that ſuch plain and obvious Inſtances will recover the People to their Senſes and reſcue them out of the Hands of hireling Scriblers and imaginary Patriots.

* The Reaſons given in the late Queen's Reign, by Men juſtly eſteem'd the moſt honeſt, as well as of the beſt Senſe and Judgment in the Nation, were, that the preventing *France* acquiring the Netherlands, was as neceſſary for us, and in Effect the ſame Thing, as preſerving the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and the Safety and Welfare of *Britain*; the Situation of the Netherlands being ſuch, with reſpect to the Empire, *Holland*, and even to *Britain*, that if *France* be once ſuffer'd to get Poſſeſſion of them, it will not be in the Power of *Europe* to ſet any Bounds to the Progreſs of her Arms. The united Provinces muſt then unavoidably fall a Prey to her, as every one muſt be fully convinc'd, by the Extremities to which they were reduc'd by the *French* King ſeizing the *Spaniſh Low Countries*, at the Death of the late King of *Spain*. The Empire having, by that Means, loſt the Aſſiſtance of the States; and being cut off from all Communication with *England*, would ſoon follow the ſame Fate; being, as we ſee by long Experience, hardly able to make Head againſt a handful of *French* Troops, much leſs in any Condition to defend itſelf when it is without Allies; and *France* having rid her Hands of other Wars, is at Liberty to pour in her whole Force upon it; ſo that if *France* could finiſh her long laid Deſign upon the *Netherlands*, ſhe might, without Oppoſition, carry her Conqueſts into *Germany*. If *France* be

* Barrier Treaty vindicated, 1712.

be once Miſtreſs of thoſe Provinces, ſhe will from that Moment have the Command of the narrow Seas; ſo that our Trade will neither be able to go out, nor return with any tolerable Safety. We ſee of what Conſequence it is thought to *England* that *Dunkirk* ſhould be taken out of the Hands of the *French*, or at leaſt that the Harbour ſhould be ruin'd; and thence we may judge how fatal it would be to this Nation to let them get Poſſeſſion of the other *Flemiſh* Ports, with ſuch an increaſe of Naval Strength as that Acquiſition would give them. Our Coaſts and River would then be expos'd to perpetual Inſults, and our Trade in ſo much Danger in the narrow Seas, that we ſhould ſoon be oblig'd to give it over. But this is not all, ſhould *France* be ſuffer'd to be Miſtreſs of the *Netherlands*, it is not to be thought the united Provinces could maintain their Independency: They muſt either become the Subjects of *France*, or live in an abſolute Dependance on that Crown: And the unavoidable Conſequence of that would be, that the great Naval Force of the *Dutch* would be added to that of *France*, and give her thereby ſuch an Acceſſion of Power, as we ſhould hardly find our ſelves able to diſpute; and thus our Communication being cut off with the Continent, and thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt us by Sea not only hindered, but added to the Force of the Enemy, and thereby doubled againſt us, we ſhould be left in a State perfectly naked and defenceleſs. And as our Riches depend on our Trade, and our Trade on our Power by Sea, ſo it will neceſſarily follow, that *France* having acquir'd a ſuperior Power at Sea, by Means of the Acceſſion of the *Dutch* Navy, all the Miſeries we can poſſibly ſuggeſt to this infatuated Nation will conſequentially enſue;

and be ſo much the greater, in Proportion as our preſent Condition is happier than that of others.

Phillip de Commines, an Author well known to all thoſe who think it worth while to read; in the Beginning of his 6th Book of the Conqueſt of the Houſe of *Burgundy*, by *Louis* the XIth, who laid the firſt Foundation of the Greatneſs of *France*, and whoſe Syſtem has been hitherto, and always will be aſſiduouſly purſued; begins his ſecond Chapter thus; 'Thoſe, ſays he, that ſhall hereafter read this Hiſtory, will wonder that the *Engliſh* ſuffer'd the King to take the Towns of *Arras*, *Belloin*, *Ardes*, and *Hedin*, bordering on them, with divers other Caſtles, and to lye ſo long with his Camp before St. *Omers*.' His Reaſons are worthy the Remembrance of every unpatriotis'd *Engliſhman*. They are, 'That the King of *France* in Wiſdom and Senſe, far ſurmounted *Edward* the IVth of *England*, then reigning, who was a very corpulent Man and much given to Pleaſure, and endeavoured by all Means poſſible to content and entertain him, by Ambaſſadors, Preſents, and ſmooth Words, to the End he ſhould not intermeddle with his Affairs. That he knew well the *Engliſh*, as well Nobles, Commons, and Clergy, to be naturally inclin'd to make War upon his Realm; therefore he perceiv'd, he muſt in any wiſe keep the King of *England* and his principal Miniſters, his Friends, whom he found very greedy of Money; for which Reaſon he paid duly at *London*, an annual Penſion of 50,000 Crowns, as alſo 16,000 to the King's Miniſters; the Acquittances for which Sums, to their eternal Reproach, are yet to be ſeen recorded in the Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*. To the Ambaſſadors, were their Meſſages never ſo ſharp and bitter, he gave goodly Preſents, and ſent

them

'them home fully content, by which Means the 'Defence of *Burgundy* became entirely neglected, 'and undoubtedly, ſays he, if the King had not 'been prevail'd upon by thoſe and ſome other Rea-'ſons, he would never have ſuffer'd the King of '*France*, to take Places ſo nearly bordering on the '*Britiſh* Dominions. And if at the Beginning, the 'King of *England* had declar'd in Favour of the 'Houſe of *Burgundy*, it had never been deſtroy'd.

This Hiſtory was written above 260 Years ago, by a Perſon of great Credit, who was not only an Eye Witneſs of theſe things, but alſo had a principal Hand in the tranſacting of them. The Credit of which Hiſtorian, and the Conviction it carries with it, are, one would think, ſufficient to ſhew of what Importance it was to *France*, to extend her Dominions more towards us; and how much it was our Intereſt to prevent it, even in thoſe Days, when the *French* were bounded by the *Soame*; when the Dutchy of *Britain* and the Port of *Breſt* were no Part of them, and their Power at Sea not ſo much as begun; that it was then a Maxim in our Government to cheriſh an Alliance with the Houſe of *Burgundy*, and to aſſiſt it with Land Forces and Money, in order thereby to prevent *France* from extending her Dominion to the Ocean, and thereby of acquiring Sea-Ports; without which thus begun, we had not at this time of Day been clamouring againſt the *French* Trade, their Power and Influence on the Ocean, which is now wiſely to be leſſened, by letting *France* acquire more maritime Coaſt, and thereby rendring her abſolute Dictator of *Europe*.

The Danger was plainly foreſeen at that Diſtance, which we have ſufficiently felt ſince, by permitting *France* to render her Power formidable, in the maritime Provinces, and thereby putting her in the way one Day to become our Maſters.

In Proceſs of Time the Clouds broke a little, and opened to us the ſerene Face of Heaven, and *Elizabeth*, like an Angel of Light, deſcended for our Redemption; Glory, Majeſty and Power, attended her divine Footſteps; her Head was crown'd with the Radiance of the Sun, and Vertue, Honour and Reſolution were the Companions of her amiable Boſom; The Genius of the *South*, ſtruck with the Brightneſs of her Appearance, vaniſh'd from before her, and nothing was heard in *Britain* but the *Halcyon* Song of Peace and Proſperity; Trade rais'd its drooping Head, and the Ocean was covered with our Fleets; and *France* and *Spain* were both taught to know, that *Britons* are only wanting to themſelves, when they ſuffer either of them to triumph. The low Countries were her peculiar Care and Regard; it was the Houſe of *Auſtria* then, that aim'd at univerſal Monarchy, but not on ſo well eſtabliſhed a Baſis, as the *French* have ſince done; the Dominions of that Houſe had not the ſame Advantage of Situation and Compactneſs, nor was their Scheme for Empire built upon ſo well a conſider'd Plan as that of the *French*, nor purſued with the ſame Evenneſs and Rectitude; ſo that *England* then had much leſs Reaſon to be alarm'd at the growing Power of *Spain*, than our Age has had to be alarm'd at that of *France*. But this did not hinder that immortal Woman fro being always upon her Guard, and taking all proper Meaſures to weaken a Power, whoſe Greatneſs render'd it in her Eye, the Object of her ſtricteſt Attention. But ſound Policy ſuggeſted to her at the ſame Time, that to weaken the Power of *Spain*, by raiſing that of *France*, was very far from anſwering the great End ſhe aim'd at; the Concluſion was eaſy and natural; *Britain* could only be ſafe and happy, by the low Countries being thrown into a third Hand, whoſe

whoſe Intereſt it would always be, to endeavour to preſerve them from both, and by that Means bear the main Burthen of oppoſing both Powers, and being at the ſame Time the natural Guardians of the Frontiers of *Britain*, and united in Intereſt with her to keep the Ballance of Power in due Poiſe and Equilibrium. The Court of *France* was extremely ſenſible how well the Queen underſtood this to be her Intereſt, as appears by a Paſſage in the Negociations of the *Preſident Jenanin*, who giving his Maſter *Henry* the IVth of *France*, his Thoughts about a Peace with *Spain* (concluded not long after at *Vervins* in 1598) ſpake thus of Queen *Elizabeth*. 'As to the Queen of *England*, we ought to think, 'ſays he, that ſhe will be juſt ſo much for us, as 'ſhe ought to be for Reaſons of State, and no far-'ther; Experience already lets us ſee, that ſhe de-'ſires the Increaſe of *France* in the low Countries, 'no more than that of *Spain*, ſo that ſhe will 'always weigh her own Intereſt with ours, 'when ſhe is to give us any Help, and will be 'more or leſs hearty for us; not as we ſhall de-'ſire her, or want her Help, but as ſhe ſhall find 'it moſt for her own Service, and beſt for her Af-'fairs, and therefore her Aſſiſtance can't be de-'pended on, if we continue the War in Hopes of 'conquering the *Netherlands* from *Spain*. On the 'other Hand, if a Peace be made, and *Spain* be 'ſuffered to poſſeſs the low Countries, and either 'to keep themſelves, or to give them to the Arch 'Duke *Albert*, in Marriage with the Infanta *Iſa-'bella*, (which was deſign'd and afterwards per-'form'd) beſides other Inconveniences ariſing from 'a Peace; What *France* has moſt Reaſon to be 'afraid of, is, that the ancient Alliance between '*England* and the Houſe of *Burgundy* ſhould be re-'newed with them againſt *France*, of which ſhe

hath

'hath formerly felt ſo many ſad Effects; and what 'can your Majeſty deſire more, than that the King 'of *Spain* ſhould accompliſh ſuch a Deſign; that 'inſtead of a Rival and Enemy, who is obliged to 'be ſo on Reaſons of State, he may have for his 'Neighbour a petty Prince, who will not dare to 'become his Enemy, and if he ſhould, would be 'very little to be fear'd.

From theſe Paſſages its very obvious, that it was the Intereſt of *France* to poſſeſs the *Netherlands*; that it was the Intereſt of *England*, She ſhould not; and all the Proceedings of *Elizabeth* ſhew, that She the Nation, and this *French* Stateſman, had exactly the ſame Opinion of the Matter. What is the Intereſt of *England* and always has been eſteem'd ſo, is here ſhewn to be very plain and obvious, and how it has been purſued under wiſe Governments, as is plain; *Elizabeth* underſtood the Uſe of a Navy, and was more benefited by it, than late Years can pretend to, yet ſhe never dreamt of keeping the *French* out of *Flanders* with it; but in this poltroon Age when all are Talkers, but few Fighters, when Captains of Men of War don't chuſe to face the Enemy, for fear of diſabling the King's Ships; when our beſt Seamen are ſuperſeeded and deſpis'd, and Men of Intereſt, Boys and Cowards fill their Places; when the *Petit Maitres* are not ſuffer'd to go into *Flanders*, for fear of loſing the Powder out of their Hair, or tanning their pretty Faces; and when every pitiful Scribler thinks he has a Right to oppoſe the good of the State, Proſperity, and Happineſs of the People, with Impunity; who would wonder at the endleſs Nonſenſe diſpers'd about by *French* Agents, and *Engliſh* Boobies, outcrying againſt a War by Land, which can alone preſerve us from inevitable Ruin? Ah, but ſay theſe Numſkulls, the War is only made to aggrandize *Hanover*;

Hanover; who told your Fools Heads ſo? What can *Hanover* get by beating the *French* out of *Flanders?* And what can't *England* loſe by letting them make Conqueſts there? There is no reaſoning with ſuch Wretches, whoſe Souls are cloath'd with Diſhonour; and whoſe Hearts are pick'd out of Pidgeons, who follow the Scent of a Patriot to his Kennel, and revel amongſt his Hounds, who take a Fox Hunter for a Conjurer, and his Oak Trees for a *French* Army; who feed on Gin and Politics till half famiſh'd, and quite craz'd, they come roaring about, and turn the whole Iſland into a Bedlem. But to proceed,

The *French* King ſaw plainly the Advantage of following ſuch ſalutary Advice, clearly perceiving, that to have a Prince poſſeſs'd of *Flanders*, infinitely unequal to him in Power, was the next beſt Policy to the having them in his own Hands, and as one could not be attain'd in the preſent, he concluded rightly enough, what would happen in the future, which the Event has ſufficiently juſtified. *Elizabeth*, on the other hand, plainly ſaw the ſame Thing, and, with equal Juſtneſs, concluded, that to have the *French* poſſeſs'd of *Flanders*, more eſpecially of the Sea Ports, would one Day prove fatal to *England*; ſhe therefore turn'd all her Thoughts to the Aſſiſtance of the States, as reſolving to give them all the Power ſhe was able, and to make them, with the Aſſiſtance of *England*, a Match for either *France* or *Spain*; and by conſtituting them her Barrier againſt both theſe Powers, ſhe forfeited her own Dominions, and preſerv'd us againſt the perpetual Expence and Danger we were otherwiſe liable to. But if there were no Peace or obvious Reaſons to invite us, at all Events, to guard againſt the *French* increaſing their Power in *Flanders*; It would be ſufficient, one would

would think, to ſatisfy any honeſt thinking Man, that as *Dunkirk* alone has given ſo much Plague and Trouble, what would be the Caſe if *Oſtend*, *Nieuport*, *Sluys*, &c. were in their Hands? Its very well known, that during the laſt War, *Dunkirk* alone took up more of our Care and Attention than all our Maritime Affairs beſides; that from thence iſſued the Pretender and his invading Fleet; from thence were fitted out the Chief of the Privateers that impeded our Commerce: This, and many Inconveniencies more, was ſo well underſtood by the Nation, that thoſe very Men who were the Tools of *France*, the Patriots of that Time, durſt not attempt to finiſh the Treaty of *Utretcht*, until the Demolition of that fatal Port was agreed to; yet now the whole out-cry is againſt an Army, which can only make good the general Syſtem, eſtabliſh'd for the Welfare of *Britain* in all Ages. Even *Oliver Cromwell*, whoſe ſelf-intereſted Policy united him with *France*, had ſo much Regard to the future Welfare of his Country, as notwithſtanding the Aſſiſtance he gave the *French*, he never ſuffer'd them to acquire a Sea Port, but, on the contrary, by a remarkable Inſtance of his Judgment and Reſolution, demanded and poſſeſs'd *Dunkirk*, when taken from the *Spaniards* by his Aſſiſtance; and was ſo very warm in the Purſuit of this ſingle Point, that he rather choſe to hazard all his Intereſt with *France*, and ſtand upon his own Bottom, than give up ſo important a Point; which was evident enough from the Meſſage he ſent to *Mazarin*, when he found the *French* Court intended to have kept it for their own Uſe; which ſhews at once of what Importance both Sides thought it. How it came afterwards to be given up, in what ſome think better Times, and how it came in later Days to be

ſuffer'd

ſuffer'd to be repair'd, and why the *French* have always been ſo deſirous of it, appears ſo very evident to underſtanding Men, that it would be idle in me to enter into a farther Diſquiſition thereupon; and the Parliament's Addreſſes to *Charles* the Second, are convincing Proofs of the Senſe of the Nation. The general Scope of my Argument is to ſhow the Wickedneſs or Folly of thoſe, who, under Pretences of Patriotiſm, and by their ridiculous roaring againſt *Hanover*, are for giving *Flanders* up tamely to the *French*, and thereby laying the Foundation of our Deſtruction and Miſery. The Point then, as it relates to *Britain* and *Hanover*, is plainly this, That if we maintain foreign Forces at all, ſo many as we do maintain, will draw ſo much Money out of the Nation as is neceſſary to pay them, and the Queſtion then is, whether ſuch Money had better go to *Hanover*, or to other Parts of *Germany?* The Objectors ſay, that to make *Hanover* rich at the Expence of *Britain*, is contributing ſo much towards making the King abſolute; and at the ſame time alledge that *Hanover* is a pitiful Spot, ſo far from being worth regarding, that it can hardly be found in the Map. How theſe two Arguments tally, is a little difficult to find out, yet both are the Reaſonings of the ſame judicious Writers; and in either Caſe extremely difficult to conceive, what the adding of Riches to *Hanover* can have to do with the Influence of the King over his Subjects in *Britain:* A Man muſt ſtrain terribly for the Connection, and has no Way to bring it about, in my Apprehenſion, but by reducing *Britain* into as diminutive a Figure as they have done *Hanover:* And, on the other ſide, giving *Hanover* as formidable a Figure, as they have done *Britain*; otherwiſe its inconceivable on what Principles, or by what Means

ſo inſignificant an inland Country as *Hanover*, ſhould be enabled to enſlave *Britain*; while its very far from being hard to diſcover, why it is the Intereſt of *Hanover* to do all it can towards the Welfare of *Britain*, and this on fix'd and eſtabliſh'd Principles, ſuperior to any temporary political Schemes whatſoever. What Service it can do *Britain* is certainly no more than any other inland Principality of equal Power; but what it can do is more to be depended upon than any other, becauſe the connected Intereſts of the ſame Sovereign cements the Union; and firm Friends with but moderate Power, are of more real Eſtimation than uncertain Allies, whoſe Power is infinitely greater, and however the Houſe of *Auſtria* and *Holland* are bound to us by reciprocal Intereſts, and therefore as nearly allied to us as *Hanover*; yet are not any other States or Kingdoms ſo, or at leaſt rarely act as if they were, as many recent Inſtances have prov'd, nor are we always quite ſo ſure of the two others, however it may be their natural Intereſt: But if we are then is *Hanover* an Acceſſion of Strength, equal to moſt of the Principalities in *Germany*, with this Advantage of being certainly to be depended upon, and conſequently more valuable than any other of equal Power; and therefore if we muſt ſpend our Money on foreign Troops, we had better do it on thoſe of *Hanover*, than on any other, which is all I contend for.

As to the Point between us and *France*, I have ſhewn what has been the Thoughts of the great and the wiſe at different Times, relating to *France* getting Poſſeſſion of the *Netherlands*; I will now ſhow that ſuch were ſolidly founded, and that the Views of *France* have, in Fact, center'd ultimately in the Poſſeſſion of them, as will more plainly appear by the

the Plan here under, beginning at the *Pyrenean* Treaty, and ending with the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

By the Pyrenean *Treaty*, 1659.

All *Artois* except *Airs*, and St. *Omer*.

In *Flanders*.

Gravelines, *L. Ecluſe*, *les Fort Phillippes*, *Hannin*, *Bourbourg*.

In *Haynault*.

Mariembourg, *Phillippeville*, *Avenes*, *Landrecy*, *Quenoy*.

In *Luxembourg*.

Thionville, *Montmeer*, *Dum Villiers*, *Yvoix*, *Chavency*, *Marville*.

By the Treaty of Aix, 1668.

All *Artois* except *Aire* —St. *Omer*.

Gravelines, &c. *to Bourbourg*. *Dunkirk*, (bought of the *Engliſh*) *Berg*, St. *Winoc*, *Donay*, with Fort *Scarp*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, *Armentiers*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Furnes*.

Mariembourg, &c. to *Landrecy*, *Quenoy*, *Binch*, *Aeth*, *Charleroy*.

Thionville, &c.

By the Treaties of Nimequen, 1678. Ryſwick, 1697.

All *Artois*.

Gravelines, &c. to *Bourbourg*, *Berg*, St. *Winoc*, *Donay*, with Fort *Scarp*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, *Armentiers*, *Caſſel Menin*, *Furnes*, *Ypres*, with its Dependencies.

Mariembourg, &c. to *Landrecy*, *Quenoy*, *Valenciennies*, *Bouchain*, *Bavay*, *Maubege*, and *Conde*, *Cambray*.

Thionville, &c.

Treaty of Utrecht, 1712.

All *Artois*.

Gravelines, &c. to *Bourbourg*. *Dunkirk* to be demoliſh'd, *Berg*, St. *Winoc*, *Donay*, with Fort *Scarp*, *Tournay*, *Liſle*, *Armentiers*, *Caſſel*.

Mariembourg, &c. to *Landrecy*, *Quenoy*, *Valenciennes*, *Bouchain*, *Bavay*, *Maubege*, and *Conde*, *Cambray*.

Thionville, &c.

From whence it appears, how far the *French* have purſued this Point, and that if after a glorious and ſucceſsful War, they could not be drove out of *Flanders*, but would rather run the Hazard of ruining *France* itſelf, than forego their Intereſt in the *Netherlands*, the Barriers of *England* and *Holland*, and the Opening to univerſal Monarchy, what is to be expected if they are ſuffer'd, for Want of our oppoſing them, to over-run what remains, and make a Conqueſt of *Holland*, the remaining Barrier of both *England* and the Houſe of *Auſtria?* and how this is to be prevented, by the beſt regulated, and beſt officer'd Fleet in the World is quite inconceivable? but much leſs ſo, when we have in Effect no Fleet at all. The beſt Uſe preſum'd of a Royal Fleet, is to deſtroy the naval Power of the Enemy, and thereby prevent them both from protecting their Trade, and meditating Invaſions; with the firſt, the two laſt will fall of Courſe, and by keeping the Sea to ourſelves, as of old, we may greatly ſtreighten them; but after all, this won't ſave *Flanders*; but for Suppoſition Sake, ſuppoſe it would, let us then examine into the Probability of doing it by our Navy, as it ſtands at preſent officer'd and regulated. It is out of Diſpute, that we have ſome few of the beſt Officers in *Europe*, but it does not appear that they have it in their Power to ſerve their Country, or if they had, that the generality will in any Reſpect do their Duty; this Truth many recent Inſtances evince, nay Honour and Gallantry are ſo far from being gloried in, or encourag'd, that a Kind of new Terms are ſubſtituted in their Stead, *viz.* diſcreet and prudent, the Epithets given to thoſe who ſave the King's Ships by avoiding to engage the Enemy on equal Terms, or fight them, on almoſt any Terms; how the

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French are to be ſtreightned, and prevented from conquering *Flanders*, by ſuch Means, can only be accounted for by thoſe Patriots, whoſe chimerical Brains are always working upon ſomething new and ſurpriſing.

Great Genius's rarely want ſuitable Reſources, and the Patriots have hit upon one which ſurpaſſes all the reſt, which is to make the Navy the ground Work of our future Glory, under the Management of Men who don't ſo much as pretend they know any thing of the Matter; I ſhall therefore give my Reader the Pleaſure of underſtanding this Affair thoroughly; by entring into a ſhort Diſquiſition on the Subject, and as the ſame will fully compleat the Courſe of my Argument, ſo it will finiſh this my ſecond Lucubration.

As in domeſtic Affairs, civil Government well attended to, is the Foundation of Power, by baniſhing Idleneſs, encouraging Arts and Induſtry, and ſetting of Commerce in Motion, ſo is a proper naval Force the chief Inſtrument, whereby they are at once purſued and protected; in Order whereto, it is not only neceſſary, that a commercial State and an Iſland employ a Navy, but alſo that they put it into ſuch Order, and under ſuch a Government, as to render it effectually able to anſwer theſe important Ends.

The great Diſpute in all Ages has been, whether a *Britiſh* Navy was likely to be beſt managed by Landmen or Seamen; it's very true that this Point has been always out of Diſpute with the Generality of Mankind, but the more refin'd Wits ſtill make a Point of it, and ſay, that there is no ſuch Myſtery in naval Affairs but what a Landman of Senſe may preſently comprehend, while the Seamen and their Abettors ſay it's morally impoſſible for Landmen to know any Thing of the Matter; the Landmen

Men on their Part urge, that its very true Seamen beſt underſtand the working of their Ships, but are, at the ſame time, Strangers, for want of a proper Education, to the political Art of managing and directing a Royal Fleet on all Emergencies.

What School Learning has to do with the Management of a Fleet is a little difficult to conceive, unleſs from thence one may conclude that reading of the Claſſics ſo far opens and enlarges our Underſtandings, in one Kind of Learning, as thereby to render us Maſters of another Kind whereto it has no Relation. A Parity of Reaſoning in other Matters, and the concurrent Senſe of almoſt all Mankind will, in ſome Meaſure, contribute to ſet this Argument right. I obſerve it to be a Rule in all Trades and Profeſſions, Learned, or Unlearned, the Heads of them are uſually Men initiated into ſuch Trade or Profeſſion, and the Reaſon for it is, becauſe they underſtand it better than Strangers; and if it happens at any time that a great Man is complimented with a Maſterſhip or Directory, it means no more than the ſetting up of a Poſt to repreſent a Man, or putting a Cypher before a Figure, that neither adds to nor diminiſhes in the leaſt from its Value: The fair Argument on a Parity of Caſes, then concludes, thoſe fitteſt to govern who beſt underſtand the Affairs they are to direct. But ſay the Wiſe and the Learned this is not all the Argument, ſince there remains a farther Queſtion to be determined, which is, whether a Perſon of Diſtinction, of great Abilities, tho no Seaman, is not more fit to govern in Naval Affairs, which depends on various Matters, beſides Seaman-ſhip, than a Seaman of very ordinary Underſtanding.

To which I anſwer, that there are ſometimes Men of ſuch great Abilities, as with very few Lights

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are capable of underſtanding any thing preſently; and alſo there are Seamen who underſtand but very little of any thing; this is giving the Argument its full Scope: But then are theſe Men of great Abilities, thoſe who are employ'd? And, on the other hand, if there are Seamen whoſe Abilities are not adequate to ſuch Employs, are there not alſo Men amongſt the Sea Officers who have Abilities equal to the Truſt; or muſt we neceſſarily conclude them all to be Fools, if not, will it not plainly follow that a Seamen of ſuitable Abilities is more likely to ſerve the State, than a Landman, who has, at leaſt, that Branch of the Buſineſs to learn? Now if the Fact ſhould be that we not only now have, but always have had, Seamen unemploy'd, Men of as great Abilities as Landmen, will it not plainly follow that Landmen are employed with ſome other View than to ſerve the State; and that inſtead of rendering our Navy uſeful to the main End, it is made the Tool of venal Views, and conſtituted rather to enrich Courtiers, than to protect our Commerce, and beat the Enemy; and whom to attain their Ends and render their Undertaking plauſible in the Eye of the World, have uſually ſet up the weakeſt of the Seamen firſt, and oblig'd them to behave in ſuch a Manner as to render them contemptible, and on the Credit of their Errors, Follies, and Mean-Spiritedneſs, to make ſome Figure in a Poſt, for which they were otherwiſe utterly unfit.

Theſe are Tricks that may ſerve to gull the Careleſs and Unthinking, but will never anſwer the End of impoſing on the Wiſe and Penetrating, who can't help ſeeing through ſuch Cobweb Politics, and putting them upon Thoughts how to do Juſtice to a Nation, bubbled by thoſe who pretend to be honeſter than their Neighbours.

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In order to render this Matter thoroughly Conſpicuous, it will be neceſſary to go back to the Origin of our Navy, and thence tracing it down, ſee who have been the Raiſers and Supporters of it, the Landmen or Seamen. *Alfred*, a King of *Britain*, was the firſt who, by a cloſe Application to Naval Affairs, laid the Foundation of that glorious Figure we have ſince, till of late, made on the Ocean. *Alfred* is recorded not only to be a Man of Science in Maritime Affairs, but alſo ſo great a Mechanic and Architect in the Naval Way, as to be enabled on the Baſis of his perſonal Genius and Abilities, to raiſe a Fleet ſuperior to thoſe who invaded his Kingdoms, but alſo to improve ſo much on the Carpentry Part, as to direct the Building of better Ships than any that Time was acquainted with; and to ſend them ſuch Voyages as were before then unknown. But it does not appear he attain'd this Knowledge by Inſpiration, but by indefatigable Labour, Application, and Induſtry; and that with all his great Abilities, ſuperior perhaps, to any other Man: And tho' Maritime Affairs did not then require equal Skill as now, yet he took ſome time to be well inform'd of Maritime Affairs, before he pretended to ſhine in the Direction. But do the modern Great do thus? Do they know any more of a Ship than what a Model in the Levy Room preſents them, or of the Manner they ought to act, than as the minor Seamen intimate, who never conſidered Maritime Affairs as a Science? And whether they tell them Right or Wrong, is too great a Hazard to venture the Preſervation of a Royal Fleet, and with it the Honour and Safety of the Nation upon.

The next that makes a Figure in our Annals, was King *Edgar*, who was ſo far from pretending to govern a Fleet, on which all depended, without firſt having

having well acquainted himſelf with Naval Affairs, that he every Year encircled the whole Iſland in Perſon, and thereby fitted himſelf properly to direct a Fleet, the greateſt perhaps, even in the Number of Hands it carried, either *Britain* or any other Nation ever had, or probably ever will, which at once brought Peace and Proſperity to the Iſland; and gave to *Britain* a Figure and Luſtre, no Time has ever equall'd.

After his Time Maritime Affairs declin'd for many Reigns. The Landmen thenceforth took it into their Heads that to make a Figure in the State, and to command Fleets were Analogous, and our Naval Affairs went on accordingly, until the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth. There happened indeed in the Interval ſome Matters worth relating, but as it would lengthen out this Performance beyond its intended Length, and can no way favour the Views of our Land Mariners, I dare ſay they will excuſe my being too particular. In his Reign Naval Affairs began once more to raiſe its drooping Head, and laid the Foundation of his Succeſſor, *Elizabeth*'s Glory, which gives Luſtre and Dignity to our Annals; and ſhews to what a Pitch a Naval Power is capable of being rais'd, and what it's capable of doing, when under the Direction of experienc'd Seamen. The great Family of the *Howards* govern'd the Navy in both theſe Reigns. Theſe *Howards* were indeed Noblemen, and they were regular Seamen too, or I know not what might have been the Fate of *Britain*. And from ought I can learn of the Hiſtory of thoſe Days, Landmen never preſum'd to intermeddle with a Science they were utter Strangers to; or boldly forc'd themſelves on the State by Intereſt and Intrigue; ſince to be honeſt, and to do all we can, is but a light Matter, in Compariſon of

neceſſary Knowledge, and the being able to do what we ought; nor indeed can it be juſtly eſteem'd honeſt to force ones ſelf into the Direction of Affairs we don't underſtand, ſuppoſing our private Mind, in other Reſpects, never ſo juſtly turn'd. After the Reign of *Elizabeth* we heard no more of the *Howards*, *Cavendiſhes*, *Cumberlands*, *Drakes*, *Raleighs*, *Forbiſhers*, *&c.* except in the fatal Fall of one of them. Land Mariners thenceforth undertook to be Pilots, both by Land and Sea, and an aſſuming Miniſter govern'd for Part of two Reigns, both the State and the Ocean; in the latter of which we had Ships enough, as now, and almoſt as good a Uſe made of them; we went to Sea, flouriſh'd and return'd, attempting every thing, doing nothing; till at length Pride and Preſumption having met an adequate Fate, innate Bravery join'd to ſound natural Abilities, conquer'd the Fooleries of the Times, and reinſtated us in our wonted Honour. The Navy began now to ſhine in its former Luſtre, and Naval Affairs were once more conducted by Seamen and *Britons*. *Blake*, the only Man not regularly bred a Seaman, made the beſt Uſe of a happy ſuperior Underſtanding; and by an indefatigable Induſtry, render'd himſelf Maſter of the Knowledge of Affairs in that Element, where the Glory of his Country taught him to ſhine.

At the Reſtoration, which brought with it Peace and Tranquility for a Seaſon, we were at Leiſure to reduce our Naval Affairs into Shape and Order; proper Officers were ſubſtituted, and employed to improve our Ships in their Building: And here one of the Royal Family was conſtituted chief Director, who was not only himſelf, in a good Meaſure, a Seaman, but likewiſe took Care to employ thoſe of moſt Eminence who were, both in his Counſel, and

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in his Fleet. He could judge of their Counſel becauſe he took Care to be well inform'd by daily Experience of the Truſt repoſed in him: He never dreamt of learning to be a Seaman in a Mill Pond, nor of directing Maritime Affairs by Inſpiration: an experienc'd *Sandwich* ſhone his principal Counſellor; and bold and intrepid Actions render'd him the Glory and Delight of his Officers and Men; it not being then any more than now complain'd of, that great Men commanded; it is ſufficient that they take Pains to know what they are about, and know it before they undertake it, and as that was the Caſe, and the moſt worthy and knowing employ'd under him, they reſted well ſatisfied in ſerving under their Royal Director, who was made ſo by the free Suffrage of the Sovereign, and acted as became his Dignity.

What happen'd afterwards, and how he loſt the Hearts of the People, is no Part of my Buſineſs, as it relates not to the Point in View; while he was amongſt us, he preſerv'd the Honour and Dignity of the Sea, behav'd with due Regard to worthy Seamen, and left us no Inſtance, of giving the Direction of maritime Affairs to meer Landmen, which effectually anſwers my Purpoſe ſo far.

The ſucceeding Reign of King *William* became, by the Diſtemperature of the Times, a general Nurſery, both for Seamen and Soldiers, and produc'd very valuable Men in each Profeſſion, and the chief Command of the Royal Fleet was divided between the Earls of *Torrington* and *Orford*; the firſt a Seamen much devoted to his Pleaſures, the laſt in every Reſpect a valuable Man, his Conduct gave Dignity to the Poſt he poſſeſs'd, and his Succeſs at the Battle of *La Hogue* put a full Stop to the Purſuits of *France* by Sea, and retriev'd the Honour of the *Britiſh* Flag; under theſe great Men

were bred, *Rook*, *Shovel*, *Whitaker*, *Bing*, Lord *Berkely*, *&c.* who have in their reſpective Stations at Sea and at the Board, ſufficiently convinc'd Mankind, that Seamen judiciouſly choſen are much the fitteſt Perſons to direct, both on Shore and at Sea, and it is very remarkable that during the Time that the Lord *Berkely*, and *Bing* Lord *Torrington* directed the Admiralty Board, not only the Buſineſs of the Navy, the ſtationing of Ships properly, *&c.* but alſo the private Buſineſs of that Board was infinitely better conducted, than either before or ſince, and the Reaſon I take to be, that there never was known ſo many able Sea Officers at the Board as in their Times; It is very true that the latter was ſucceeded by a Seaman of ſome Abilities in his Way, but in other Reſpects a very weak Man; he ſuffer'd himſelf to be puſh'd into groſs Miſtakes on the one ſide, and to be led by the Noſe on the other, by a Character that he himſelf doated on, and every body elſe look'd upon with Contempt enough, and in the whole not only render'd himſelf deſpis'd, but by bringing an Odium on the Genius and Capacity of regular Seamen, became the means of introducing afterwards into that Board, Men abſolutely Strangers both to its Buſineſs on Shore or on the Ocean, and has led ſome who are unacquainted with the Nature of that Office, to believe, that Lords and Dukes can make up by their Dignity, what they want in Experience, and be an Honour to the Nation by their Titles, while they are totally ignorant of the Means, whereby naval Honour is to be acquir'd, and the Glory of the Nation reviv'd and propagated.

The Plague of things now are, that plain Reaſoning will hardly ſatisfy the Minds of Men, while every Argument is ſubject to be defin'd, divided, and perplext into, and with ſo many Shapes and Appear-

Appearances, that one never knows when enough is ſaid on a Subject. If we ſay ſuch a Man's no Seaman and therefore unfit, it will be anſwer'd that good Senſe makes full Amends, and out-ballances meer Seaman-ſhip; if we ſay again, but may not a Seaman be a Man of Senſe too, yes, it is replied, it is poſſible, but you ſee how eaſily they are made Tools on, and Men of Rank and Fortune won't be ſerved ſo, and of what Uſe is Knowledge without Power to act? If we ſay again, what is to be expected from the Conduct of Men of Rank, in public Affairs, whoſe private Management ſhews they underſtand not their own Eſtates, and who merely for Want of calculating the Difference between racking their Tenants, and letting them live, leſſen their Eſtates gradually ſome Thouſands a Year; are ſuch fit to direct any Branch of public Affairs they leſs underſtand, and is leſs ſignificant to them, and to be conſtituted to order the Oeconomy of the State? Yes, it is replied, for you muſt always diſtinguiſh between the Politician and the Man, the Stateſman and the P—r. A Man may neglect or not underſtand his own Affairs, or may employ thoſe who are wrong-headed, or who may deceive him in private Life; but when he comes to ſerve the Public, whoſe Good he has more at heart than his own, his Genius then riſes equal to the Undertaking, like one inſpir'd he ſoars above himſelf, inſtantly forgets all the Littleneſſes and Miſtakes of private Life, and ſhines in the higher Sphere, with ſingular Grace and Dignity. All this may be, but, for Heaven's Sake, where will ſuch Argument end; *Plain Reaſoning* teaches us to judge of Men by what they do, not by what the Imagination of their Friends, Tools, or Dependants, or, what is worſe, of thoſe who propoſe to riſe on their Shoulders ſay, it's poſſible they may do; elſe were our Judgments

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vain, and our manner of determining on Matters of Importance, idle and fanciful.

But to proceed in the plain Road of Argument, can any Man preſume to ſay we at this Day want Seamen proper to direct naval Affairs, when it's well known that we have ſome few, who are by much the beſt Officers in *Europe*, Men ſingularly diſtinguiſh'd both by their Skill and Bravery, and can it be by any Rule of Common Senſe ſhewn, that Men who know nothing of the Matter are proper to direct theſe, when they might and ought to think it an Honour to be directed by them? Does the Cart ever guide the Horſe, or the Horſe the Carman? Is not every thing in the Courſe of Nature directed in its proper Order, and ſhall we, when both the Safety and Honour of the Nation mainly depends on Experience and Excellence, invert the very Nature and Reaſon of things, and guide ourſelves to Perdition by vain Fancies and Conceits, or like Enthuſiaſts and Madmen fancy, we are inſpir'd with the Knowledge and Underſtanding of things, which being accordingly entruſted with, produce their own Fatality.

I will give theſe ingenious Reaſoners all the Scope they can deſire, and admit it poſſible, that a Navy may not do much amiſs under the Direction of Landmen, which indeed is only admitting, that there are ſome Seamen of Rank, who are either ſo neceſſitous, ſo political, or ſo honeſt that they will do as much under their Direction, as under their natural Superiors; but this is not only a hazardous Experiment, but is likewiſe nothing at all to the Reaſon and Fitneſs of things; the Clerks in the Secretary of State's Office may be juſt to their Principal, tho' he can neither write nor read, yet it would look a little abſurd, to make a Man Secretary of State who could neither write nor read, and

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yet this is exactly Parallel, as I will now take upon me more effectually to ſhew.

A Landman at the Head of the Admiralty Board has all the Navy of *England* under his Care and Direction, with ſuch a Council of private Gentlemen and minor Seamen as the State ſhall think proper to give him. We are engag'd in a general War, and as he is well inform'd of the Force of the Enemy, how they are deſtin'd, and upon what Occaſion; he is thereupon to iſſue Orders accordingly; he is firſt to make his Choice of Officers to command Squadrons and ſingle Ships, he is to judge of the Qualifications of theſe Officers, their turn of Mind and Experience for this or that Service, and in this or that Climate; he is to ſuit them with Ships proper both to the Climate and Service; he is to know how long, and in what Proportion of Numbers they are capable of cruizing in this or that particular Station; he is likewiſe to preſume that the Enemies know as well what he is doing, as he what they are doing, and therefore if inferior will avoid, if ſuperior attack; he is then to know certainly the Nature and Courſe and Philoſophy of the Winds, as alſo the various Ways the Enemy may either come at or avoid his Squadrons, and is thereupon to be very diſtinct and clear in his Orders: If his Squadrons, or any of them are to attack the ſtrong Holds of the Enemy, he is to know what Kind of Ships, in what Depth of Water, and at what Diſtance the Enemy may be attack'd, as likewiſe whether the Wind uſually blows on or off the Shore, how the Waters, and conſequently the riding of the Ships will be affected thereby; and thence to conclude what Bearings the Ships and Forts will have to each other reciprocally, wherefrom to gueſs with tolerable

tolerable Exactneſs the Conſequence of the Attempt.

I will not trouble my Readers with more Particulars at preſent. The Queſtion now is, how the Land Man, at the Head of the Board, is to be thoroughly Maſter of all this? From his own Experience it can't be expected, nor from the Majority of his Counſel, who chiefly ſerve for their Salaries; it remains then for him to depend on the Advice of ſuch minor Seamen as are allotted him, on which depends two Queſtions, *viz.* Whether they can, and whether they will? If both theſe happen in his Favour, its well both for him and the Nation, but if neither, or but one of them happens to be the Caſe, what will then probably be our Situation, or what Account can the Land Man give to his Country, for undertaking, at the hazard of our Fortunes and Liberties, the Direction of our chief Guard and Dependance: Can he lay his Hand on his Breaſt and ſay, I am an honeſt Man? That it's impoſſible for me to be deceiv'd, and that becauſe I venture my own oppulent Fortune on the ſame Bottom, that I am therefore either wiſe or juſt?

All other Profeſſions ſeem to claim a Right only to underſtand their own Buſineſs; but it is in Maritime, as in State Affairs, every body pretends to underſtand them. Yet is every great Seaman very well aſſur'd, that but few, even of the Profeſſion, know much of the Matter, and thoſe who have never puniſh'd themſelves to learn it at all, ſtill much leſs: But in this Age of Inſpiration, People come very ſuddenly to a Knowledge of Arts and Sciences, which our dull Forefathers thought an Apprenticeſhip little enough to acquire. Happy ſhining Age which brings all Mankind upon a Level, and renders Education and Experience

ence equally Uſeleſs and Ridiculous! What is to me equally wonderful and extraordinary, that the Navy, upon which we value ourſelves moſt, and whereon our All depends, ſhould be the only Branch of Power in the State, thought proper be entruſted to Men ignorant of the Profeſſion, while the Army and the Church, on both whereof very little depends, are ſuffer'd to be govern'd by Men ſkilful in their Way. If my Lord *Grenard* and Mr. *Vernon* were to be made Archbiſhops, the whole Nation would be preſently in an Uproar; yet I may venture to affirm that either of thoſe Gentlemen are fitter to be moſt Reverend, than any Country Gentleman is to be the firſt Admiral; and are both very ill educated if they don't know more of the Matter.

It's a very odd Argument I am got upon; it is in effect, to perſuade Mankind that the North Weſt Paſſage we are ſo wiſely fond of ſeeking, don't lye within five Degrees of the Equator: That *China* and *France* are not the ſame Countries; or that *Britain* is above an Inch in Circumference, yet ſhall I find it a little difficult to perſuade ſome People I am in the Right; at leaſt ſo long as Money and Places, which ſome ſtanch Patriots too ardently ſeek, give a Turn to the Diſpute in my Disfavour. What ſhall we ſay then? Is it not neceſſarily true, that let who will force themſelves into Power, and thereby diſtort the Conſtitution out of its natural State, Contradiction is ſtill to be the Rule of our political Purſuits, and conſequently, whether we have Broadbottoms, Narrow Bottoms, or no Bottoms at all, our Meaſures are ſtill to be equally wiſe, juſt, and conſonant——This contributes to prove my main Poſition, which is, that put any Government out of that Biaſs, which the Nature of its Conſtitution intended ſhould be

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regularly purſued, (every Branch whereof, like every Movement in a Clock, being ſuited to its particular Station, is to be attended to with equal Regard as the whole, becauſe upon its being miſapplied or checked the whole Machine becomes diſconcerted) it isn't whether this or that Wheel is intrinſically good, but whether it be in its proper Station, and ſuitably connected with the whole Machine. The principal Wheels of our conſtitutional Clock are the three Eſtates of the Realm, under them in their reſpective Stations many leſſer; If all theſe, at leaſt if the main Wheels counteract each other, neither will play its Part in due Order; while Machines of a worſer Frame, by a due Regard to Concordance, will prove, in every Reſpect, more regular, and conſequently more uſeful. It's very hard to conceive how Movements fram'd gradually leſſer, or larger than each other, ſhall be put to operate out of their reſpective Stations, and yet the whole Compoſition remain ſteady, regular and juſt; yet this is the Point aim'd at by thoſe who preſumptuouſly take upon themſelves ſo to act in Affairs of State, as if no body in the Conſtitution had any thing to do with it, but ſuch as by being miſplac'd, idly affect to govern on the ſingle Principle of their own Vanity and Folly.

FINIS.